Rhetoric

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DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110431360-007

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I: 1 Rhetoric

1 Definition

The most helpful way to express the complex relationship between rhetoric and memory is perhaps by means of a chiastic figure of thought: on the one hand, such a figure means examining the relationships between internal and external aspects of memory that draw on concepts of rhetoric; on the other hand, it relates to observations about the relationships between various representations of rhetoric which become apparent in conceptions of memory.

At the point when rhetoric becomes established in classical, that is, ancient Greece, it is already apparent that the idea of oratory 'as an art' is intimately related to two conceptualisations of memory: memory as an aesthetic theory, and memory as a technical skill which may be acquired. A conclusion would be that rhetoric could not exist without concepts of memory. Only in the early modern period did *memoria* become disassociated from rhetoric and instead was considered to be a part of logic and ethics. Up to this point, *memoria* played a key role in the preparation of speeches and it is therefore not surprising that it was granted a pre-eminent position in theories of rhetoric. *Memoria* is the last phase of preparing a speech, in which the speaker – after having found, collected and ordered the material in the two initial phases of *inventio* (invention) and *dispositio* (arrangement) and then transformed the ideas and structures developed in these two phases into verbal form in the *elocutio* (style) – memorises the speech with the help of existing techniques and learnable memory aids, before practicing the oral presentation. As the fourth of five so-called canons of rhetoric, *memoria* (memory) is situated between *elocutio* and *actio* (delivery), and thus occupies an important place between the planning and preparation of a speech and its delivery as an actual presentation. In a metaphorical sense, *memoria* therefore mediates between what the speaker cultivated 'internally' and developed in his or her thoughts and that which the speaker aims to share with the outside world as a specific act of communication; within the canons of rhetoric, *memoria* thus renders the public effect of a speech possible (comparable to the writing down of a text in literary communication).

The dynamic and extraordinarily performative function of *memoria* in classical rhetoric is apparent even in its position within the five canons of rhetoric. Within this system, *memoria* occupies a central role in accomplishing the main aim of a speech – and hence of rhetoric – which arguably lies in influencing the listeners so that they may adopt a specific point of view or execute certain actions.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110431360-007

But on the other hand – reinforcing the reciprocal dependence between rhetoric and memory – it must not be overlooked that when narrated, memory employs all of language's abundant facets. This entails that thinking about and discussing memory is always in a fundamental way dependent on rhetoric, that discourses about reasoning and communication can only be grasped through the vocabulary of rhetoric. Such a broad understanding of rhetoric is, therefore, not limited to the single goal of instigating the audience to perform a specific, often immediate action by means of an eloquent oration. In such a broader definition, the concept of rhetoric is understood as one, if not the, most central and encompassing idea behind theories of language, aesthetics and literature, which defines all linguistic utterances (as well as language-based pictoral representations) from both a historical-diachronic and a typological-methodological perspective, and which may be analysed through such theoretical frame-works.

The close relationship between memory and rhetoric is observable in very different areas throughout the process of analysing historical, linguistic sources. Within the present emphasis on the memory culture of the pre-modern North, this point – the analysis of the linguistic composition of narrative texts (especially within a rhetorical text-analysis which is aimed at discovering diverse phenomena within memory theory) – is especially relevant for the field of historical narratology. Furthermore, it also adds an important dimension to our understanding of how the learned written culture of the Latin Middle Ages was transferred into the Latin and vernacular literature of the Nordic countries (e.g. in providing an analytical focus on cultural history and the sociology of literature, which delineates the role of remembering within the larger frame-work of medieval scholarly pursuits; see, for example, Lausberg 1960, especially II, cf. memoria, μνεμε, mémoire; *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* 1–7, 1992–2005, s.v. Antike, Barock, Humanismus, memoria, Mittelalter, Reformation, Renaissance; Pethes and Ruchatz 2001, s.v. Mnemotechnik, Rhetorik; Oexle 2002; Ottmers 2007).

2 State of research

Drawing on a division which reaches back to Aristotle, the medieval understanding of memory applies a distinct, two-fold division of the concept. On the one hand, memory is perceived as an innate competence and thus common to all humankind (*memoria naturalis*). On the other hand, this inherent ability may be significantly supported and advanced by the use of mnemonic technics and instruments (*memoria artificialis*) (see e.g. Hajdu 1936; Yates 1966; Carruthers 1990, 1998; Berns and Neuber 1993; Heimann-Seelbach 2000; Meierhofer 2010). It is

evident that medieval theories of memory are concerned with both areas, much as classical teaching was as well, and much like modern philological and literary medieval studies are interested in the theoretical-aesthetic and the practical-technical aspects of remembering (see Carruthers 1990, 1998 and others); however, neither category of memory is represented in coherent, systematic or theoretical form in Old Norse texts, and thus may not readily be compared with influential and comprehensive classical or medieval Latin theories and handbooks which makes it necessary to examine and refer to individual case studies and implicit forms of expression as a means of trying to establish how Old Norse memory culture imagined rhetorical compositions of memory, and which role it assigned memory in the rhetorical process. Yet even modern scholarship only started to discuss this complex relationship between memory and rhetoric in recent years.

There exist, however, a small number of very instructive and notable studies which engage with the influence of classical rhetoric on Old Norse literature and discuss corresponding 'native' examples in Old Norse texts. In general, however, it may be observed that if rhetoric was discussed as an independent subject in Old Norse texts at all, it was considered largely for its contribution to stylistic aspects of narrative texts. Thus, earlier studies generally focus on the rhetorical effect of differing styles of narration within the sagas (see Halvorsen 1982; Þorleifur Hauksson and Þórir Óskarsson 1994, 13–36). In a similar vein, Lie (1937) and Knirk (1981; the latter referring primarily to Lausberg 1960) primarily analysed dialogues and speeches in the sagas of kings, while Lönnroth (1976, 2011) examined the rhetoric style of narration in classical sagas of the Icelanders.

Another area in which rhetoric appears as a central focus, and which has received detailed scholarly attention, are the grammatical treatises and Old Norse theories of language more broadly (see Dahlerup and Finnur Jónsson 1884–1886; Bjørn Magnússon Ólsen 1884–1886; Holtsmark 1981; Raschellà 1982; Beuerle 2010). Especially the so-called *Third Grammatical Treatise*, attributed to the Icelandic author Óláfr Þórðarson hvítaskáld (c. 1210–1259) deserves attention as a key tract in the history of rhteoric in Iceland. The work is dated to c. 1250 and features a section called "Málskrúðsfræði" [rhetoric], which presents an intense engagement with, and appropriation of, Latin models of rhetoric. Rhetoric is seen primarily as a means of creating aesthetically appealing and stylistically adequate poetry (cf. the edition by Krömmelbein 1998 and more recent studies by Clunies Ross 2018 and Wellendorf 2018). Margaret Clunies Ross was the first to present a broad analysis of the rootedness of *Skáldskaparmál* [The Language of Poetry] of the *Prose Edda* in language theory and poetics within the learned continental literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and to further discuss the relevant aspects of rhetoric (Clunies Ross 1987); however, these analyses lack

systematic references to memory as a distinct focus, and for large parts, no references to memory are made at all.

Even to a casual observer it quickly becomes apparent that all studies which specifically and jointly address rhetoric and memory of Old Norse narrative sources are of a more recent date. Such recent studies may be concerned with aspects of mediality, a fundamental category for theories both of rhetoric and memory (Glauser 2007; Heslop 2014, 2018), or with diverse rhetorical methodologies which both classical and Old Norse mythological poetry employ to generate memory and enable remembering, such as, for example, rhetorical aspects of space, the senses, or memory (Hermann 2014, 2017b). Others analyse the impressive and thus mnemotechnically especially suitable imagery of skaldic kennings (Bergsveinn Birgisson 2010; Malm 2016) or (even more recently) the permutation of linguistic theories, relations of texts and imagery, performativity and the resulting creation of memory in the *Second Grammatical Treatise* (Schneeberger forthcoming). It must be stressed that these studies demonstrate how besides delineating the hugely influential contribution of the classical rhetorical tradition (mediated through continental Latin learned culture), it is also possible to discover aspects which draw on the Nordic tradition itself when outlining the relationship between rhetoric and memory. This becomes especially evident if one looks beyond the Middle Ages and, for example, turns to Icelandic Baroque literature of the seventeenth century, in which a very telling amalgamation of traditional classical rhetoric and Old Norse poetological tradition becomes apparent. Especially the very well represented memorial poetry from this era, with its focus on remembering the dead, can include highly complex figures of commemorative poetry (e.g. funeral poems, funeral elegies, consolation poems) and rhetoric (see Margrét Eggertsdóttir 2014; Þórunn Sigurðardóttir 2015; review in Glauser 2016).

Yet even in light of these recent studies, the topic has not yet been systematically and coherently addressed. Attempts to formulate a theory of the rhetoric of native forms are still at the very early stages, and in the few studies which do address rhetoric, memory theories or mnemonic techniques are represented only marginally. Moreover, none of the large and influential surveys dealing with memory, rhetoric and grammar in medieval Latin culture (Yates 1966; Carruthers 1990, 1998; Copeland and Sluiter 2009) makes any references to the traditions of Scandinavian countries, suggesting that Nordic studies as of yet lack a comprehensive and theory-based interpretation of the relationship between rhetoric and memory, and that the present short contribution may only sketch some preliminary observations.

3 Pre-modern Nordic material

As has been mentioned several times, with few but important exceptions, the extant Nordic material is not theoretically explicit but rather narratively implicit in its treatment of rhetoric and memory and, as a part of this relationship, also in its treatment of media and mediality. This fact entails that these sources must be examined on the basis of individual (often only implicitly developed) passages and that frequently, only a goal-oriented analysis will help elucidate such matters. Yet closer looks reveal that this corpus is indeed diverse, extensive, of high value for scholarship and, at times, unique. A short discussion of selected examples helps outline this point.

The Scandinavian tradition of the Middle Ages contains numerous sources which may be classified as belonging to the area of mnemotechnics (cf. Carruthers 1990, 1998; Pethes and Ruchatz 2001, 380–383; Hermann 2017b). In these cases, as in many others, the classical theories of places (*loci / topoi*) and of topology are a frequently used means of supporting memory. Much as in other traditions, such places may be natural (e.g. landscape, nature, the human body) or cultural and hence part of civilisation (buildings, architecture, but also the human body and so on). An often-quoted example from Norse tradition is the so-called "Stave Church Sermon" (Norwegian "Stavkirkepreiken") from the *Gammelnorsk homiliebok* (Old Norwegian Book of Homilies, a collection of sermons in the vernacular, dated to the twelfth century). In developing its rhetoric, the "Stave Church Sermon" employs the architectonic structure of a medieval wooden church as a mnemonic aid and interprets the individual parts of the building in accordance with the fourfold scriptural sense. The sermon has even been called a 'mnemonic theatre play' ("mnemonisk teater", Stylegar 2004; see also Laugerud 2010), because besides the common church inventory, it also draws on the text, on rituals and on the church space as a thesaurus (see below). While the sermon in itself can be viewed as an encompassing act of mnemonic practices, the preacher heightens and intensifies its memory-generating effect in that he deliberately draws the audience's attention to architectural elements visible to all. Through this, the church's architectonic arrangement becomes a mnemonic aid and an initiator of memory through the textual source of the sermon.

Other mnemonic devices are mentioned explicitly in prologues to sagas, which sometimes contain telling thoughts on rhetoric and memory. For example, the longish and incredibly complex prologues to *Þiðreks saga* (an extensive collection of North-Germanic heroic sagas in Old Norwegian translation) and *Strengleikar* (a contemporary Old Norwegian translation of Marie de France's *lais*), dated to the thirteenth century, discuss the advantages of writing down narratives in order to save them from being forgotten.

Several mnemonically interesting passages form part of the narratives and are narrated so precisely that it is possible to deduce from them an implicit rhetoric of memory. *Ynglinga saga*, extant in the *Heimskringla* by Snorri Sturluson, is an excellent example of this almost classical eloquence of narrative figures in Old Icelandic narrative texts. Óðinn (Odin) is here described as follows: "Qnnur [íþrótt] var sú, at hann talaði svá snjallt ok slétt, at ǫllum, er á heyrðu, þótti þat eina satt. Mælti hann allt hendigum, svá sem nú er þat kveðit, er skáldskapr heitir." (*Heimskringla* 1941, Ch. 6) ["Another ['faculty'] was that he spoke so eloquently and smoothly that everyone who heard thought that only what he said was true. Everything he said was in rhyme, like the way what is now called poetry is composed." (*Heimskringla* 2011, Ch. 6)] The quality of Odin's speech, its *ornatus*, enables him to convince his audience of the truth-value of his utterances – a passage which echoes an exemplary description of an *orator* successfully influencing the audience in his favour. Odin is, of course, also the god of poetry (as is narrated at length in the myth of the origin of the mead of poetry in *Skáldskaparmál*) and the god of memory (with his two ravens Huginn and Muninn, the latter of which may be seen as representing memory, see Mitchell 2018) and of oratory.

In the so-called *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, *memoria* is described with an impressive and memorable double expression as the place in which all memory is stored and simultaneously as the place from which memory may be recollected through re-membering (*αναμνησις, reminiscentia*): "Nunc ad thesaurum inventorum atque at omnium partium rhetoricae custodem, memoriam, transeamus." ["Now let me turn to the treasure-house of the ideas supplied by Invention, to the guardian of all parts of rhetoric, the Memory." (*Ad C. Herennium,* 3.16)] (see Neuber 2001, 1038) The same idea – albeit formulated less theoretically than in its Latin counterpart and extant in much more comprised form – is found in the prologue to Snorri's *Heimskringla*. In this well-known prologue to the history of Norwegian kings, the skaldic poems (*kvæði*) take on the function of a *thesaurus inventorum* (treasure-house of ideas) but also of *custos rhetoricae* (guardian of rhetoric), when – discussing the historicity of his sources at the end of the prologue – Snorri writes: "En kvæðin þykkja mér sízt ór stað færð, ef þau eru rétt kveðin ok skynsamlegt upp tekin." (*Heimskringla* 1941, Prologus) ["As to the poems, I consider them to be least corrupted if they are correctly composed and meaningfully interpreted." (*Heimskringla* 2001, Prologue)] Like the Latin text by the anonymous author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Snorri's expression in this thirteenth-century Icelandic example emphasises the double relationship between *memoria* and *rhetorica*.

The skaldic *kenningar* are a special field of interest for those discussing the topic of rhetoric and memory in Old Norse literature. In fact, the scholarship on

these sources had observed and identified relatively early on parallels between, on the one hand, the imagery of the kenning-art – and, in somewhat less detail, the specific syntax of the *dróttkvætt*-stanza – and, on the other hand, the largely contemporary Viking Age animal style. In this vein, correspondences with rhetorical devices were repeatedly pointed out (see, for example, Vogt 1930–1931; Lie 1982a [1952], 1982b [1957]; Krömmelbein 1981; Engster 1983; Marold 1983; Heslop 2014). The strong visual and onomatopoetic images evoked and the complexity of the skaldic syntax as a whole – and the *kenningar* in particular – are instrumental in arousing the imagination of the audience. This works on the basis that a strong visual and auditory excitement appeals to the senses of the listeners, and, incidentally, is also how a skilled orator operates and instigates performative processes of remembering, a parallel which demonstrates that even in the case of the *kenning*, memory cannot be separated from rhetoric. By appealing to seeing and hearing, the two senses on the top of the hierarchy of senses and most trusted in the medieval period are involved. The mentally stimulating and memory-inducing *kenningar* demonstrate that, much as was the case in classical rhetoric, Viking Age and medieval theories of memory are closely connected to orality and vocality. Here is for once a point which sharply separates them from the theories of memory which emerged from the written culture of the Latin Middle Ages, which had a strong focus on writing (see e.g. Carruthers 1990, 1998; see Buchholz 1980 for an early discussion of oral performances in Old Norse literature). In more recent years, such observations have also been discussed in relation to the importance of unconventional, explicitly 'rhetoricised' verbal imagery for memory (Bergsveinn Birgisson 2010; Malm 2016; Hermann 2009, 2014, 2015, 2017b; Heslop 2014; Schneeberger forthcoming). Aby Warburg formulated a corresponding concept for art history in his 'pathos formulae' (see below), but the concept itself has not yet been explored sufficiently in skaldic studies.

While Old Norse tradition therefore presents us with a range of examples which indirectly outline a rhetoric of memory and memory construction, we do not have knowledge of an explicitly formulated and extensive memory-myth which may correspond in its entirety and importance to the Greek myths of Mnemosyne, "the mother of all the Muses" (Carruthers 1998, 7). According to classical mythology (Hesiod), the muses are the children of Zeus and Mnemosyne and it is their duty not only to bring memory to humankind but to let humankind forget its suffering as well. Mnemosyne is called upon as a figure of memory and seen as an idea of dynamic memory based on personal experience in many different periods of European cultural history, and as such she even appears as a counterfigure to mnemo-*technics*. In the twentieth century, Aby Warburg (1866–1929) provided key impulses for cultural studies with his so-called "Mnemosyne-Atlas" and the pathos formulae which it contained (see Matussek 2001). Such an influ-

ential myth is not found in the Old Norse tradition. Yet a closer look at individual myths figuring Óðinn reveals that parts which may be seen as traces of a myth of remembering have been retained, and these narratives certainly come closest to the Greek myth of the culturally defining importance of memory. The most extensive and relatively clear indicators for a Nordic memory myth are contained in the multidimensional story of the mead of poetry, the central Norse myth concerned with knowledge, poetic composition, rhetoric, memory, and forgetting, but which has not yet been analysed as a whole from a memory studies perspective (Hermann 2017a).

As has been mentioned repeatedly, we possess no handbook from the Nordic Middle Ages which explicitly addresses the art of memory and which is self-referential in this task. The few notable exceptions which contain an explicit and comprehensive, 'theoretical' engagement with memory and rhetoric are the *Prose Edda* (and within it, especially the theory of language in *Skáldskaparmál*) and the *Grammatical Treatises* of the *Prose Edda* (which in some manuscripts are transmitted together), as well as post-medieval poetic texts, the majority of which are based on the *Prose Edda*. That certain parts of the *Prose Edda,* such as *Skáldskaparmál,* are to be understood as a contribution to Old Norse theories of language and rhetoric has already been shown convincingly in studies by Clunies Ross (1987, 2018). In its claim to explain the old, that is, the pagan poetry reaching back to orally transmitted phases of the tradition and to adapt this to new religious, mental and medial circumstances and therefore to guarantee its future transmission, the *Prose Edda* may be viewed as a specifically Icelandic treatise on the medieval memory theories in the vernacular, both as a whole and in its specific sections on language and poetic theory. The grand, over-arching project that is the *Prose Edda,* at least in some areas, consists of preserving and creatively shaping what is thematically, formally and medially 'old' within what is thematically, formally and medially 'new'. This project ensures that its material remained usable, and in use. It is evident in terms of content (in the reception of pre-Christian myths), of form (in the development of an actual theory of the *kenningar*) and of media (in the introduction of performative speeches in written narrative contexts). The explicit observable parallels between the *Prose Edda* as a whole and a general process of constructing a (cultural) memory are evident in that both are dependent on a continuous repetition to prove their legitimacy, which ensures their survival over the centuries. The long-standing reception of parts of the *Prose Edda* until the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is testimony to this extraordinary transmission, and in this respect, the *Prose Edda* completes a movement which can be seen as prototypical for constructions of memory.

If one is interested in analysing the relationship between rhetoric and memory in the medieval Nordic texts, one of the most central questions to address

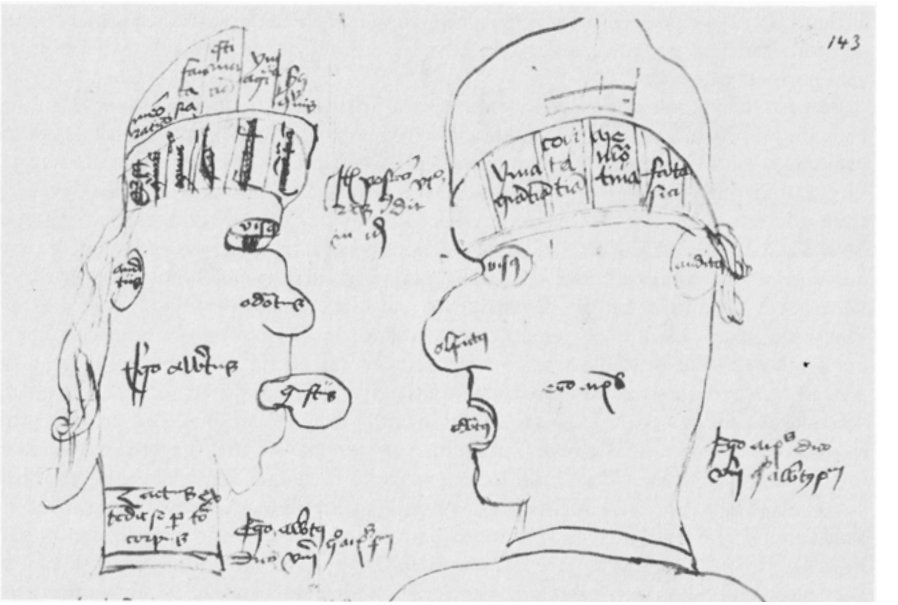

Fig. 1: Manuscript UUB, C 599, 143r

is whether the Nordic tradition provides enough material to sketch a specifically Nordic understanding of memory and rhetoric. That such a Nordic theory may not be thought of as in complete opposition to the learned Latin tradition is self-evident. More than any other area of medieval learned culture, questions about tradition, memory, rhetoric and grammar in Nordic sources are always characterised by a dual perspective, incorporating extant Nordic as well as the Latin culture. A simple and short example allows us to illustrate this observation. Relatively early in the Middle Ages, visual conceptions of the human brain emerged, and these are extant from countless diagrams which illustrate the ventricles of the brain. Some of these refer to Albertus Magnus' text *De bono* and show the place of remembering as the outermost part of the brain, located at the very back. At least two documents testify to the fact that the doctrine of these ventricles was known in Sweden towards the end of the Middle Ages.

The first are lecture notes taken by a student at the university of Uppsala, Olov Torstensson (Olaus Thorstani), dated to the 1480s which contain an illuminating drawing of a philosophical debate between Aristotle and Albertus Magnus (manuscript C 599, 143r; see fig. 1). For the present purpose, the drawing is particularly interesting because in analogy to their brains, the caps of both

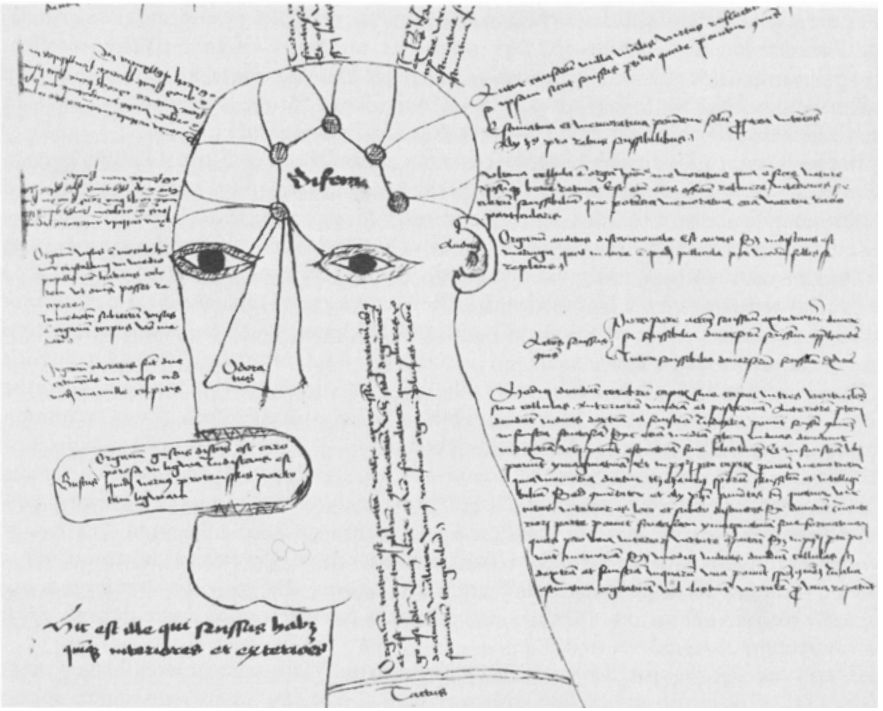

Fig. 2: Manuscript UUB, C 601, 2vb

figures also feature an area with the caption *memoratiua*, i.e. a visual representation of the position of the ventricles (see Piltz 1975–1976, 1977: i.a. 90, 128).

A similar drawing is to be found in lecture notes taken by another Uppsala student, Olov Johansson (Olaus Johannis Gutho) (manuscript C 601vb; see fig. 2). It shows "det thomistiska schemat utvisande relationerna mellan yttre och inre sinnen: de fem sinnenas vittnesbörd samordnas av *sensus communis* och går vidare till [...] för att sedan lagras i [...] *potentia memorativa* [...]" (Piltz 1975–1976, 277–278) [the Thomisian scheme indicating the relations between external and internal senses; the evidence of five senses is coordinated by *sensus communis* and proceeds to [...] and is later stored in [...] *potentia memorativa* [...] (author's translation)].

Furthermore, the Swedish King's Mirror (*Konunga styrelse*) contains a short passage, which enumerates the abilities and qualities of a good monarch, and it says:

> Wise mästara thz lika ok almanna samhälde widh manz likama/ Ty at suåsom likamen hauer hierta thz sum styre allom likamens limom ok åthäuom/ Ok han hauer huwdh ok främbr alt hans styrilse: I höfdom är hiärne ther hauer try styrilse. Then första lutren af hiärnanom väkkr up hugh ok åthäue likamens. Then anra wäghr medh sik sieluom ok dömer huat är görande ella latande sum huxat är. Then tridhi är äptarste luteren/ han minniz thet huxat är/ ok medh skälom gripit ok wäghit: // Så skal godhr kunungr huxa huat almoghans tarf ellr skadhi må wara/ Han skal ok thz wägha medh fullum skiälum/ huru görande är ella låtande. Han skal ok minnaz thz almoghans gaghn ella skadhi hauer warit ella warda må. I höfdino äru ok öghon [...] I höfdeno äru ok öron [...] I höfdeno är ok mundr ok tunga [...]. (*En nyttigh Bok om Konnunga Styrilse och Höfdinga* 1964, 31–32)

> [Wise masters liken society with the human body. For much like the body has a heart which directs all members and gestures of the body, so it has a head which drives its movement: within the head, there is the brain, which has three areas. The first part of the brain awakens the senses and the gestures of the body. The second debates with itself and decides which of its thoughts shall be done or not. The third is the last part, it remembers that which was thought and which had been gripped and weighed with reasons: Thus shall a good king consider what the need of, and damage to, his people may be. He shall also weigh up with full reasoning, how something shall be done or not done. He shall also remember the gain or loss of his people, or what that may be in future. The head also has eyes [...] The head also has ears [...] The head also has a mouth and a tongue [...]. (author's translation)]

Both sources locate memory in the outermost part of the human brain, situating it after the reception of impressions from the outside world by the sense of the eyes, ears, tongue and after their successive processing through the ventricles. They are clearly influenced by contemporary learned medico-historical literature and its diagrams.

This tradition is opposed to another one which locates memory in the breast of human beings, as Snorri Sturluson lists in *Skáldskaparmál* among the ways of paraphrasing parts of the human body: "Brjóst skal svá kenna at kalla hús eða garð eða skip hjarta [...], eljunar land, hugar ok minnis." (*Edda, Skáldskaparmál* 1998, 108) ["The breast shall be referred to by calling it house or enclosure or ship of heart [...] land of energy, thought and memory." (*Edda* 1995, 154)] The *Prose Edda* clearly presents an alternative understanding of the location of memory in the human body. It is unclear, however, if this may be seen as an idea which refers back to skaldic material and therefore in essence could be pre-Christian/pre-Latin, and hence testimony to an independent, genuinely Nordic understanding which pre-dates other influences of the Middle Ages. Without any further scope for examination such observations are simultaneously intriguing and stimulating but by their very nature must be seen as patchwork that ought to be situated in a larger context.

4 Perspectives for future research

The topics of memory and rhetoric / rhetoric and memory in the pre-modern Nordic tradition may only be discussed successfully as part of a more comprehensive engagement with medieval scientific literature, so-called *artes*-literature. The *artes liberales* are the binding frame-work in which *memoria* is to be viewed as part of medieval grammatical and rhetorical thinking. Any studies examining the relationship between rhetoric and memory, even when concerned specifically with Nordic sources, must therefore engage with such ordering of knowledge (see Stolz 2004; Copeland and Sluiter 2009). This may lead to the discovery of interesting, yet hitherto overlooked typological parallels between Nordic and Latin theories of poetry, and of memory. As a general rule it would be beneficial to include the Middle-Latin tradition of the North more fully, not least because (as was briefly sketched above), Norse contributions to Latin and vernacular learning have not been sufficiently addressed in the extant overviews.

A further central area in the theoretical and methodological approaches to rhetorical memory studies may be opened by a new focus on the performative character of the texts and of memory constructions in a general sense. This could include aspects of the senses, emotions and so on, and equally contribute to novel textual analyses. By examining the concrete linguistic, medial, visual etc. composition of the tradition, such studies could help to locate possible influences from learned Latin literature on Nordic memory theories, and hence shed light on accompanying processes of cultural transfers. Perhaps more importantly, it could also help recognising and delineating culturally specific categories within Old Norse rhetoric and memory theory which become apparent in the texts. The aim of such perspectives for future memory research would then be the demarcation of a genuine Norse memory theory, one which combines classical Latin and Viking Age and medieval Nordic aspects in its analysis.

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